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Commonweal



FOUR MORE YEARS

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James Finn
Russell W. Gibbons
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NEWS & VIEWS

Protest as Pastoral

American missionaries in Chile, who a year ago protested to President Nixon and six months ago to the president of ITT over U.S. interference in Chilean internal affairs, have now framed their grievance in the form of a "pastoral letter" to leaders of the Christian churches of the U.S.

The pastoral was drawn up by the missionaries' committee on international awareness, and represents their response to the contradiction between the Gospel message and the actions "of the nation from which we come."

It is a condemnation of U.S. policy in Latin America and in Chile most particularly.

"The everyday reality we experience in Chile is one of poverty, suffering and dehumanizing conditions for the vast majority of persons," the pastoral declares. "We are aware of specific local factors which contribute to these conditions. Yet they are not isolated realities; they are part of, and greatly the result of, an unjust international economic system. It is a system controlled by a small minority in the rich industrialized nations for their own benefit; a system built on and fostering misplaced values; and a system which both encourages and rewards the complicity of powerful interests within the poor countries.

"Because in Chile and Latin America today it is U.S. business and government which dominate and profit most from this unjust order, we as Americans recognize our responsibility to end these injustices and also recognize the urgent need for the U.S. churches to exercise their responsibility as a conscience of the nation."

The missionaries document their case and propose correctives anchored in two ele-

ments: *conscientization* ("You as [church] leaders, and your memberships, must discover the reality of oppression around you, become aware of your relationship to it, and realize your responsibility in the face of it"), and *liberation* ("We as church must liberate ourselves from the misplaced values upon which so much of our lives and policies are based. The church has to liberate itself from alliance with the rich and the status quo, whether that alliance be conscious or unconscious, institutional or personal").

Specific points of action urged by the missionaries—

Personnel and funds: "A large amount of funds presently sent to the 'missions' are counterproductive in the sense that they perpetuate dependency and often reinforce the status quo. We propose that many of the funds . . . be allotted for strategic action for liberation within the United States: conscientization and organized pressure. In the same way we propose that mission-sending groups assign personnel to this work."

Grassroots conscientization and action: "The U.S. public at the grassroots level must be conscientized to international realities and involved in seeking solutions. . . ."

Collaboration with liberation movements in the U.S.: "The more the U.S. becomes liberated from false values, the less of an obstacle it will be to the liberation process abroad in the world."

Ending church alignment

with business: "An essential step in the churches' option for the poor and the oppressed is to free ourselves from any complicity with corporations which are unjust and exploitive. We must prefer the insecurity of the Gospel to the security of blue-chip stocks."

Bringing the corporations under effective control: "The church can exert some moral pressure, but even more it can fulfill its role as catalyst by influencing its members to organize and put pressure on delinquent corporations, whether by legal prosecution, boycotts, strikes, lobbying, or political pressure."

Campaign to end business control of government: "Big business will never be effectively controlled until the corporate elite's control of government is brought to an end. The church, rather than standing by silently, should become an effective force, exposing and condemning specific injustices. . . ."

Working for a just foreign policy: "U.S. foreign policy is based on the false assumption that our national security is best guaranteed through power and the economic domination of others. But true security and real peace depend on something entirely distinct: a world built on equality, justice and solidarity. The churches must work to reverse our nation's disastrous foreign policy. . . ."

In their conclusion, the missionaries express the hope that "the same Spirit" that inspired them to write their pastoral will inspire church

leadership in the U.S. to respond.

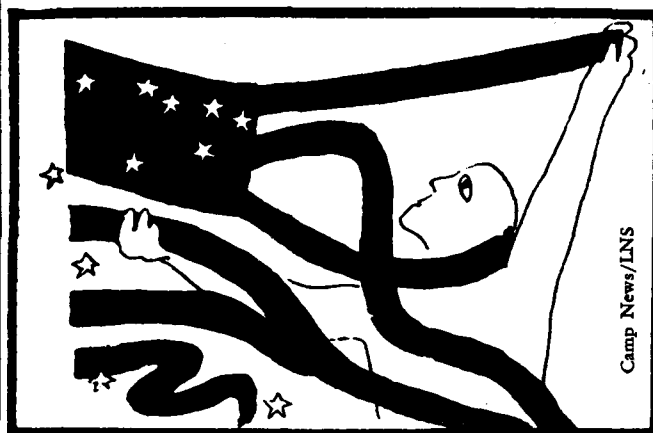
"In this task," they add, "there are not separate nations; for the Christian is neither Greek nor Jew, Chilean nor American. He is first a citizen of the world, and only accidentally of any one nation. His commitment is to persons who are oppressed and powerless, whether they are outside the United States or within its boundaries, for we are all oppressed either by inhuman conditions or misplaced values, and we all stand in need of the Lord's liberation."

Odds and Ends

—The Indochina Peace Campaign, a seven-state effort to make the war an issue in the campaign, is pondering whether or not to continue on. The group is buoyed by some limited election successes, but at the same time rendered uncertain by peace-treaty possibilities. A decision will be reached at a meeting scheduled soon, probably in Detroit, half-way city for the states involved. Activities of the I.P.C. centered about a lecture and slide show on the nature of the war in Vietnam. In most cases, the lecturers were university professors.

—The *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, ever solicitous of the pastoral concerns of its readership, has a special mailing out to them promoting two books at 40 percent discount: *The Story of Dan Lyons, S.J. and College Football U.S.A. 1896-1972*.

—For the man who's got everything, including a short fuse, a Philadelphia firm is offering mounted trophy heads (tiger, arctic wolf, bear, leopard). They're being billed as the "novelty tension-reliever" of the year: "When the day's work builds up, when decisions have to be made, more and more executives sit back, relax and stroke the head of their favorite . . . animal. It's better than a security blanket . . . Wanna bet? JOHN DEEDY



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CORRESPONDENCE



Steinfels' Pre-mortem

Wayne, Pa.

To the Editors: A pox on Peter Steinfels and you, *Commonweal*, for the article "If McGovern Loses . . .?" [Nov. 3]. It is in the finest tradition of liberal hand-wringing. Perhaps if Mr. Steinfels were busier ringing doorbells, instead, his attitude might be different.

Those of us working for Senator McGovern are fully aware of the uphill nature of our struggle. However, we (most of us) prefer to continue to plug away and would rather hear what the voters have to say about McGovern on November 7 rather than what cop-outs like Mr. Steinfels *think* they will say, two weeks earlier.

Next time please wait till the cause is dead before coming out with the post-mortems.

JOSEPH P. SPAMPINATO

Rochester, N.Y.

To the Editors: I was one of the first subscribers to *Commonweal*, and I have always loved it. But you certainly don't know how to win a ball game.

I wonder how many voters and workers are lost to McGovern on the head of the issue with the article by Peter Steinfels and the very destructive cartoon on the cover [No. 3]. Did Nixon help put this issue together? Inept campaign? What could be more inept than an autopsy on a live candidate the week before election, and by a magazine that endorsed him?

Next time you endorse a man, I hope you won't bat for the other side in the ninth inning.

SISTER M. ST. FRANCIS, S.S.J.

Milwaukee, Wisc.

To the Editors: Reading Peter Steinfels' pre-election postmortem [Nov. 3] I could only conclude that he must have written it in a state either of extreme exhaustion or of complete distraction. By the fourth sentence I knew he was not up to par—"autopsies performed

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FOUR MORE YEARS

As we noted last week, there is no obscuring the extent of the Nixon victory and the McGovern debacle. True, only 56 percent of those eligible voted, which must mean that millions of Americans saw little to choose between the two candidates or thought "A pox on both your houses." Yet despite this, no post-mortem can obscure the fact that President Nixon scored a monumental victory. He attracted the support of more than half of all Roman Catholic voters, something no Republican Presidential candidate has ever done before, and he made serious inroads in the traditionally liberal Jewish vote. Indeed, Mr. Nixon came within a hair's breadth of carrying liberal New York City—something that has not happened since the days of Cal Coolidge. Clearly, then, Mr. Nixon has reason to congratulate himself.

What of the future? Elsewhere in this issue a half-dozen valued contributors weigh this question, and we will not attempt to second-guess them here. What we would suggest, however, is that certain basic factors remain constant despite Mr. Nixon's heavy majority. The voters may have opted for the status quo, but there is much about that status quo which cries to heaven for correction. Indeed, there is even a chance that many Nixon voters saw this fact too—how else explain those millions who split their tickets to elect Democratic Senators and Representatives?

Whatever may now be said about Mr. McGovern as a campaigner—and much that is derogatory has already been said—the fact remains that he was and is a humane man, a man of courage, a man of wisdom and moral concern. These are qualities that are badly needed in the politics of this country. We need national leadership that will transcend narrow considerations of personal prestige and party advantage. All is not well with America; we need sweeping political, social, economic and moral reform. Contrary to Mr. Nixon's tendency, at least till now, we need to give human needs priority over the special privileges shown to corporate friends. We need a serious effort at a more equitable distribution not only of income but of wealth in this country, and a serious effort to prevent the gap between rich and poor nations from growing even larger than it

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already is. At home we need frank recognition that nowhere near enough has been done to remove the inequities that are a heritage of slavery and discrimination; we need an end to expediency and class selfishness, an end to the disgraceful use of code words like welfare, work ethnic and busing to exploit and worsen already dangerous racial divisions. We need to call a halt to official eavesdropping and wiretapping, and to the packing of the Supreme Court. We need more concern for the poor and friendless, and an all-out effort to save our dying cities. We need a foreign policy that will earn us respect instead of opprobrium among our international allies, and a defense policy that is not based on chauvinism and militarism. In short, we need a stance in both foreign and domestic policy that will restore what has long been lacking, our national sense of moral purpose.

As we saw the issues, George McGovern stood for the kind of social, economic, political and moral reform that would produce at least a start on the national tasks that urgently demand attention. The voters have chosen Mr. Nixon and rejected George McGovern, and all citizens, of course, must bow to that decision. But all should know, too, that our national problems will not disappear just because the electorate refused to face them.

THE AMNESTY ISSUE

The American bishops' call at their recent meeting for an end to the bombing in Vietnam sharpens somewhat their position against the war, but is anti-climactic given their years of equivocation, the breakthroughs

toward peace, and the changed mood of the country. It is always easier to move with the tides of current events, and latter-day historians will have no trouble charting the course of the bishops as a body. It parallels remarkably the swing of public moods.

The issue of amnesty is something else, however. Here the bishops are diligently in advance of public opinion, and for this they are to be commended. In remarks opening the bishops' meeting, Cardinal Krol, head of the bishops' conference, urged that government adopt a "generous" stance on conscientious resistance to the war. Later, for the second year in a row, the bishops went on record endorsing an amnesty for "convictions incurred under the Selective Service Act." The bishops did not use the precise word "amnesty," preferring instead "pardon." But "pardon" is an acceptable substitute if at this point "amnesty" has an inflammatory ring to it.

Support for the bishops' position has not been overpowering, to say the least. But there has been some support and from some impressive quarters. The *New York Times*, for instance, commented that the bishops' "attitude flows naturally from a spiritual view . . . that God is 'gracious and full of compassion, slow to anger and of great mercy.'" No diocesan paper could have said it better.

The *Times* and others of sensitive views are now turning to the pragmatics of amnesty and asking the establishment of a commission or review board that could begin to sort out the different categories of service resisters and draw up procedural and legal guidelines preliminary to the adjudication of individual cases. This is thoughtful supplementary advice to the exhortation of the bishops. It merits the White House's immediate attention.



FROM IRELAND

ECUMENIZING THE CONSTITUTION

After some five years of wrangling, the government of the Irish Republic has now taken the first concrete steps towards a major revision of its 1937 Constitution by proposing an amendment designed to remove a paragraph which recognizes the "special position" of the Catholic church.

The section in question has often been pointed to by Northern Ireland Protestants as evidence for their contention that the government of the Republic is dominated by the Catholic church. Rejecting this contention, Southern politicians have claimed that it is no more than a statement of sociological fact.

In recent years the whole question has been given a new prominence by talk about Irish unity. Northern Protestants have renewed their assaults on it, and the

British Labor Party leader, Harold Wilson, has seen in it evidence of what he describes as the "theocratic" nature of the Republic's Constitution. An all-party committee which reported in the Republic in 1967 recommended its deletion: it now looks as if this advice is to be taken.

There are in fact two sub-sections of the Constitution involved. The first, Article 44 (1) ii, states that "the State recognizes the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens." The following paragraph, also to be repealed, adds: "The State also recognises the Church of Ireland, the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, the Methodist Church in Ireland, the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland,

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as well as the Jewish Congregations and the other religious denominations existing in Ireland at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution."

The history of the first of these paragraphs is an amusing one. In fact it represents a compromise between those—such as Cardinal McRory of Armagh—who would have been happier to see the Catholic church described as the one true church, and to have the obligation of the State to acknowledge it as such written into the Constitution, and those who—like President de Valera, then the Prime Minister—were determined to resist any such formulation. The final wording can be taken as a triumph for the forces of moderation and liberalism, certainly when we consider what was going on in other European Catholic countries in the late 1930s.

The second paragraph is, in effect, an attempt to balance the impact of the first, especially by its repetition of the word "recognize," a repetition designed to confer the same essential dignity on the non-Roman churches as on the Roman church.

Today, more than 30 years later, it is clear that the first of these paragraphs is obsolete. It may have been liberal and progressive to utter such sentiments in 1937, but in 1972 they are redolent only of mothballs. The second paragraph is equally redundant, if only for the reason that a strict interpretation of it might adversely affect the position of adherents of some denominations (like the Rev. Ian Paisley's Free Presbyterians) which were not yet in existence in 1937.

Article 44 has, however, several other provisions which will not be infringed or altered by the government's proposed amendments. One of them states that "The State acknowledges that the homage of public worship is due to Almighty God. It shall hold His Name in reverence, and shall respect and honor religion." Another guarantees that "Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are, subject to public order and morality, guaranteed to every citizen." Other provisions lay down that the State shall not endow any religion, and that it shall not impose any disabilities on grounds of religious persuasion, or discriminate between schools under the management of different religious denominations in providing State aid for education. All these provisions will remain in force.

The mechanism for amendment is quite simple. A bill incorporating the amendment is first passed by both houses of parliament. The amendment is then incorporated in a referendum, and voted on directly by the people. The present indications are that the referendum will take place early in December, together with another constitutional referendum designed to lower the voting age from 21 to 18.

The initial indications are that neither proposal will meet with very much opposition. Indeed, it is thought that even to launch a campaign for the acceptance of

two such obvious propositions would be to introduce a note of absurdity into the proceedings. There may well be some protests from right-wing Catholic groups, but as these are as isolated and ineffective as their left-wing counterparts, it is unlikely that their opposition will amount to much.

The whole procedure does, however, provide us with an object lesson in the politics of constitutional amendment, Irish style. At an early stage in the debate about national reunification, it became clear that the Irish Constitution, in its present form, was in no way suitable for a united Ireland, and the pressure for change began to build up. A subsequent development was the emergence of a strong current of opinion which held—and still holds—that it is no more suitable as a basic document for the present Republic than it would be for a reunified Ireland.

The first school of thought sees the problem of constitutional change largely in terms of the alterations which would be desirable in order to persuade the Northern Protestants that by accepting reunification they would not be putting themselves under the thumb of an all-powerful Roman Catholic church. The second school of thought maintains strongly that we need to change our Constitution in any case, not just to woo the Northern Protestants but to help towards the creation of a pluralist State in the South, irrespective of unity. They concede that making changes of this kind may have a positive effect on Northern Protestant opinion, but insist that this should not be the primary motivation of the legislators. Whereas the first group see constitutional change more in terms of part of a bargaining process, with national unity as the spur and the reward, the second see it more as a present moral obligation, irrespective of its effect on national unity prospects.

Up to now, the Government has been firmly of the first way of thinking. Their action in deciding to organize a referendum now on Article 44 is, however, welcome evidence that they are prepared to consider the case for change on its own merits.

The only remaining question is whether the Constitution can ultimately be satisfactorily amended on such a piecemeal basis or whether we need to take a leaf out of de Valera's book and present the electorate—after a wide-ranging public debate—with a totally new document. There are many other aspects of the 1937 Constitution which are even more redundant than Article 44, and make such a course of action doubly attractive. The constitutional ban on the enactment of divorce legislation is one of them: so is another sub-section of the same article which, by its depiction of woman as an industrious homebody, dates the Constitution more surely than almost anything else. Everybody now agrees that we must amend the Constitution: the only outstanding questions are how do we do it—and when.

JOHN HORGAN

The Dimming of America

WES BARTHELMES

THE MUTT in us voted for Richard Nixon. The better instincts, solicited by George McGovern, were suborned. Mr. Nixon basically appealed to the herd instinct, with its conservative cast, while Senator McGovern cultivated voting blocs willing, he thought, to reason beyond sloganeering about school busing, amnesty and national glory. In contrast, President Nixon told middle Americans that they were a grand bunch of guys and dolls. Mr. Nixon shrewdly sensed that Americans this year wanted to be liked, not lectured at. Most did. Sixty-one percent voted for him. Perhaps, the mood of many voters was best represented by an unemployed, middle-aged white man in Georgetown, Delaware, who was asked on Election Day what was bothering him most of all—"amnesty for those punks," he replied.

Assuming what is past is prologue, the sleazy seventies began with the assassination of Robert Kennedy in 1968. The first nail in the coffin of the McGovern candidacy was the shooting of George Wallace, whose supporters then moved behind Mr. Nixon. A Kennedy would have attracted a hunk of these voters, but not a McGovern. Certain McGovern strategists were wrong-headed or ungracious. Senator Eagleton didn't help matters. Senator McGovern, himself, apparently believed that if he sent Americans sufficient numbers of right-minded issue papers, they would become his supporters. Populist reforms need be refracted through techniques of pageantry and the prism of a candidate's personality. However admirable, the McGovern candidate was perceived as a pedestrian one. Perhaps the outcome was predicated on the fact that Mr. Nixon made it a "khaki" election, as did certain Prime

Ministers during Britain's imperial years.

A cruel judgment being spoken in Washington is that Americans preferred a knave to a fool. During the concluding days of the campaign, harassed McGovern supporters were putting out the line: better a green apple than a rotten one. No generalization is wholly true, not even these two. But, whatever Adam in the Garden might have done, confronted with such a choice, most Americans, registered to vote, chose. Seventy-one percent of those registered voted.

By means of his reelection, Mr. Nixon has progressed in his strategy of fashioning a political majority that combines the Southern and Western states and the suburbs of the Northern states. This majority is peopled by most Southern whites, Northern white suburbanites, and, everywhere, Roman Catholics and skilled blue-collar. The negative dimension of his strategy—reminiscent of the Viet Cong's—is to bypass the central cities, leaving them in decay to non-whites and white liberals, who are, however, visibly tiring. Along the way, Mr. Nixon has quarantined the black and the student "waves." Left with urban college young, alienated liberals and the economically disenfranchised, the Democratic party has found that it cannot win a Presidential election in corporate America. Democrats may play Presidential politics within the 35-yard line, but not beyond. They did play beyond that and Mr. Nixon summoned the "old-boy network" to help thwart them. Unlike Eisenhower, Mr. Nixon seems intent on establishing a resident political majority for his potential Republican successor, Spiro Agnew.

In winning the election, Mr. Nixon may fairly conclude that for the time,

at least, private concerns of Americans dominate their public concerns at the Presidential level. The crisis of race, cities, full employment and the absurdities of the federal tax structure were not mandated for improvement.

What does Richard Nixon plan for America?

Lippmann-esque columnists, forecasting from their Olympus, would have us "assume the best from him now." They would have us believe that, during his second term, Mr. Nixon will perform with "one eye on the history books." But these same correspondents do not ask who does Mr. Nixon want to write the history books—Carlyle? Taine? Macaulay? Beard? Schlesinger?

Of course, one must guard against making the worst possible case. As one European observer has noted, matters are never as bad—or good—as they seem in America. Moreover, the optimistic national temper encourages us to hope that Mr. Nixon will at last honestly end the Indochina war, reverse the dread arms-race and promote a domestic society in which no one sits below the salt. Certainly, we would applaud, support and otherwise encourage Mr. Nixon in such undertakings.

But a man is as he acts. And Mr. Nixon's actions, during his entire public career, suggest a less hopeful second Presidency, not unlike his first. There is lacking a generosity of spirit, as witness his reply to Senator McGovern's telegram of concession. It read like a starchy thank-you note from William Buckley to his plumber. Mr. Nixon gives every indication that he believes in a tidy, structured and unrebelling corporate social order, in which those who are "successful" bear Divine blessing and those who "fail"

bear Divine curse. He is, then, a Calvinist in domestic policy and in foreign policy. He does not believe in any nonsense such as an "airtight cage of poverty"—after all, he made it, didn't he? He discerns no distinguishing element in the agony of the blacks, no recognition of that "peculiar institution," slavery, that grossly made more brutal their situation than that of European immigrants. He admires "bigness" and nowhere is this so evident as it is in his foreign policy—"global peace keeping," he calls it. Indeed, one has an impression that Mr. Nixon would prefer to live abroad, perhaps in a palace of the Medici, returning home only for electoral campaigns and the annual State-of-the-Union Message to the Congress, for which he has an ill-concealed contempt befitting a Metternich or a Bismarck. In a sense, Mr. Nixon is a man *after* his time.

Such is the impression most recently given circulation in an interview he granted the (Washington, D.C.) *Evening Star and Daily News*. One is first struck by the Gaullist nature of his remarks.

The interviewing reporter noted that "with a Puritan fervor he has seldom shown in public, Nixon seemed to be closing the door on a time in which he felt the Nation had been pampered and indulged, leaving its character weakened." Mr. Nixon's own quoted remarks support this interpretation.

"The average American is just like the child in the family," Mr. Nixon is quoted as saying. "You give him some responsibility and he is going to amount to something. . . . If, on the other hand, you make him completely dependent and pamper him and cater to him too much, you are going to make him soft, spoiled and eventually a very weak individual. . . ."

According to Mr. Nixon, the Nation has enough on its plate in terms of social programs. Too much, he said later in the interview, during which he also attacked handouts and permissiveness and other short-hand Toryisms. He re-affirmed his intention to go on making the same caliber of ap-

pointments to the Supreme Court, where Justices Douglas and Marshall are ailing. Mr. Nixon made no acknowledgment that his chief lieutenants were caught red-handed subverting not an election, but a major political party, and the millions of dollars covertly collected by his aides ostensibly for financing his campaign. No recognition in the interview that a President, as did Eisenhower, act to avoid even the appearance of impropriety.

In conclusion, Mr. Nixon told the *Evening Star*, "The people are going to have to carry their share of the load."

In the context of the interview, one may properly assume that Mr. Nixon does not refer to Lockheed or Penn-Central or ITT or the 394 persons earning \$100,000 or more who pay no federal individual income tax. Mr.



Nixon's strictures, it may be assumed, were meant for the likes of welfare mothers, the 4.9-million unemployed and the 1.5-million persons added, during the last two years, to what the Labor Department defines as the poverty-stricken. There is nothing in this long interview, in which Mr. Nixon likens himself to a Disraeli conservative, to indicate he will seek to compose domestic conflicts equitably or speak to the unreconciled. His is an appeal to looking-backward. In contemporary times, this appeal is greatest to those whose views are heavily tinged with racism. As the *Washington Post* phrased it, the President is sending a message to "a vast majority of black Americans: the hell with you."

Correspondingly, Mr. Nixon, with his extended lease on the Presidency, will exercise, at most, benign neglect toward those federal programs de-

signed to blunt poverty's edge, to pad the edge of things. He won't close shop entirely in this regard, but, in Tawney's phrase, he'll "serve docility with the doughnuts."

A second term will be marked domestically by retrenchment and fiscal restraint on domestic—not military—programs. He will continue to refuse to spend monies Congress has ordered spent. He will again try to wrest the power-of-the-purse from the Congress—something only the Senate prevented him from doing in October. His aides have already announced a plan for massive reorganization of the Executive Branch—"We need to develop our own philosophical roots there," Patrick Buchanan, a Presidential assistant, has explained.

Mr. Nixon has reaffirmed his intention to return many social programs to the states and localities. They're not working well now, some of them, but they can hardly blossom forth in the hands of the Mayor Rizzos and Governor Reagans. This project could be blocked if only the custodial liberals in the Congress would not persist in throwing good money after bad without insisting on reforms.

In his efforts, Mr. Nixon will have the assistance of newly elected doctrinaire right-wing Republicans such as Scott of Virginia, Bartlett of Oklahoma and Helms of North Carolina. They will join the Buckleys, Dominicks and Towers already in residence. Together, they will imperil the role of Senator Scott of Pennsylvania, the minority leader, who occupies the muddled middle. The filibuster, once the Southerners' principal defense, will increasingly be the arrow in the quiver of the liberal Democrats. And, in the House of Representatives, the bipartisan conservative coalition has gained ten votes. There'll be a leadership brawl among Democrats that will affect their legislative performance afterward.

In December, the Democratic National Committee will meet amid calls for blood-letting of its McGovernite party reform rules aimed at achieving equity. Custodial liberalism may find

itself overrun, its dynamic discredited somewhere between Hiroshima and Saigon. The "vital center" may have collapsed, its metaphors worn-out. When the world goes wrong, liberalism seems less attractive somehow. Political leaders of liberalism, like those in the days of Joe McCarthy, may suffer a failure of nerve as Americans find themselves between

a rock and a hard place. Liberals have let the Nixons convince middle Americans that special privilege means hand-outs to the poor, not tax-loop-holes for the rich. Liberalism implies a willingness to change. But when only 7 percent of Americans are self-employed, perhaps American voters for awhile will identify their interests with the stability of big public and private

organizations.

John Mitchell, before Martha called him home, forecast that "this country is going so far to the right that you won't recognize it."

In reply, we might remember Langston Hughes':

"O, let America be America again—the land that never has been yet—and yet must be."

FOUR MORE YEARS — II

A Vision of America

JAMES FINN

THE 1972 Presidential election has come to its timely end. The cadaver lies heavily across these united states. Now we sift among the still-warm entrails so that the ritual of divination may proceed.

Before we move ahead or even plan ahead we must look back. Only thus will we be able to perceive and understand the terrible forces that have brought us to this pass: Richard M. Nixon in a landslide victory. He has been on the political scene for so long, for so long been a part of our consciousness, that the fears, the slanders and the sleazy anecdotes that attached themselves to his public figure early in his career have become domesticated, familiar, even—yes, it's true—at times comforting. For people of Mr. Nixon's generation and a decade or so younger he is as much a national possession as Mt. Rushmore or Mickey Mouse.

Still the feeling persists that with his massive victory something has gone off the tracks, has taken a wrong turning. It is consoling to believe that it is all those others (Power to *those* people?) and not us. But it is not of such consolation that political campaigns are made. One has to ask why George McGovern lost so impressively in order to regroup and plan for 1976 and 1980 and 1984.

It must be stressed immediately that

the loss was Mr. McGovern's and not that of the Democratic party. The results of the Congressional and local races across the country do not sustain such a view. Why was there so much ticket-splitting, why did McGovern trail the party? It is foolish, I think, to look for esoteric reasons. In such large-scale actions the most obvious reasons are usually closest to the truth, and I will simply rehearse and rearrange the reasons given when I label them personal, cultural and political.

Personal: I stressed the length of time Richard Nixon has been visible, to the American people. The factor of recognition is immensely important. Nixon had it and McGovern didn't. Nor did he have the kind of personality that enlivens the television screen. One sometimes had to wait for him to talk before it was evident that it was a living, breathing person and not a still snapshot up there.

The concept of style in political life has been put down in the last few years, but that is a mistake. It cannot be underestimated. McGovern's style might be a help in the office of the Presidency, but it hindered him in the campaign in which—in spite of clear, definite stands—he did not appear assertive, highly informed or challenging.

Cultural: Not completely separable

from the political. McGovern won the nomination because he understood the new convention rules, worked vigorously for a long time, *was* the peace candidate and, most importantly here, organized the support of fragmented, dissident groups and some party regulars. But he emerged from the convention as the candidate of the counterculture, a proponent of Abortion, Marijuana and Amnesty. Even his own staid appearance did not erase this inaccurate picture. Since the counterculture has peaked—it should be clear by now—the effect was to distance him from the majority of the voters.

Political: McGovern made mistakes of a kind that any candidate under pressure might make, but it must be admitted that he totted up too high a score here. He gave an acceptance speech when the country was sleeping; offered the thousand dollars that he soon withdrew and a thousand percent support of Eagleton that he soon withdrew; presented a weak response to the Karate chops Hubert Humphrey delivered to him in their debates. Nixon could and has swept graver issues into the memory hole overnight, but a lesser-known candidate could not.

Still these are not the major issues. George McGovern first dismissed and then courted regular party leaders

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across the country, Mayor Daley being one of the most prominent. But he courted some unsuccessfully and continued to ignore others. And he did not speak to or for significant sectors of the working class. The Democratic party, whatever fragmentation and regrouping that is going on, can still speak for the working man, the disenfranchised, the minority groups better than other parties. It is not inevitable that it will, but it can.

I have not mentioned the positions McGovern took or the programs he has advocated. On many major issues I believe he was right and that the

battles in which he engaged must be continued. I believe that this country can—without weakening its security or undermining its allies—reduce its military expenditures. I believe that the tired phrase “reordering of priorities” points to real inadequacies in our society that should and can be remedied by public programming, federal expenditures. Important as these programs are, however—and I recognize and would insist on the hard, gritty work that is the body of political action—at least as important is the leadership and vision that must accompany them. That leadership and

vision cannot be summoned up by will alone, neither on the part of the candidate nor on the part of those who would invest their candidate, their President, with these qualities. We *do* need a vision of America, a vision that starts from where we are, neither all good—which no one, I think, claims any longer—nor all bad—which many people assert. It will do no good to tell us, however it is phrased, to “come home again.” We are home, however confused we may be at the moment. Our task as Americans is to make this a better home and ourselves better neighbors.

FOUR MORE YEARS — III

Labor in Limbo

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS

THREE WEEKS before the November 7 election, workers in the Maspeth, Long Island, plant of the Consolidated Can Company were told by their line supervisors to assemble a half hour before the termination of the day shift.

“They did it with precision, so those coming in for the second shift would not get to talk with them,” recalls Ed Zinser, a former president of the Steelworkers local which represents the 410 people at the container factory. Thus gathered, Consolidated executives informed the first shift that the 15-year-old facility in Queens would “probably” close on December 31.

When the public announcement was made, a young volunteer in the Queens McGovern organization speculated that the impending closing, coupled with other recent shutdowns in the light industrial zones bordering Nassau County, would be the needed impetus to bring home the feared defections of traditionally Democratic blue-collar votes to Richard Nixon. It was a reasonable assumption, shared by many professionals who had seen

George McGovern tap the vein of discontent among workers during the Spring primaries. The lunch-pail argument would surface above amnesty and acid, they predicted.

Democratic Queens borough went for Nixon by almost 100,000 votes. How the workers and their families at the Maspeth plant voted is conjecture, but given the voting results in their neighborhoods, the non-endorsement position of their union (“neither nominee . . . has demonstrated that he is deserving of our support,” the Steelworkers convention resolved last September) and the nationwide pattern of union families splitting their votes about evenly between Nixon and McGovern, then it could be safely projected that the Maspeth Consolidated workers gave more than a respectable vote to the President. “I doubt if the closing announcement affected their votes that much,” Ed Zinser said the day after the election.

The agonizing post-mortems on 1972 have already speculated that the alienation of American workers toward McGovern was rooted more in

cultural than in ideological differences, but there are still some disturbing messages instructive in the voting tallies which saw a Republican politician damned throughout his public life as an anti-labor spokesman for corporate privilege capture the working peoples’ vote 5 to 4—and split those of union voters for the first time since the New Deal era. In the wake of blue-collar defections came unrestrained glee from the nation’s employers. The metal manufacturing publication *Iron Age* said that industry executives “looked over the results of the election and their reaction was one of almost universal happiness.”

So what happened? Six months ago “Nixonomics” was a swearword among union publicists throughout the country. George Meany was getting good notices in the liberal and even part of the new-left press because of his cool politeness—interpreted by Nixon as gratuitous insult to the Presidency—at the AFL-CIO convention in Florida last December. Throughout the Spring labor’s Committee for Political Education oiled up its registration machinery and be-

gan the barrage to collect "COPE dollars" for the defeat of Richard Nixon. A coalition of necessity between labor, blacks, the party reformers and the antiwar movement appeared more than feasible. Hard economics, it was predicted, would force the unions to the front lines in the battle against Nixon—regardless of the Democratic nominee.

What happened between the California primary, the two Miami Beach conventions and the AFL-CIO "neutrality" position in Chicago is political record. Meany and those who supported him within the AFL-CIO as having read the correct mood of their members are by many observers vindicated, and their influence in the coming counter-reformation in the Democratic party will be considerable. COPE leaders will patch any credibility chasm, pointing to their selected successes in retaining Democratic control of Congress—and securing unexpected liberal Senate wins in Maine, Delaware, Iowa and Kentucky.

Yet the COPE machine may never be the same again. It was fueled for more than 15 years through a disparate merger of craft and industrial unions. The McGovern campaign and the Meany decision not to endorse either Presidential candidate afforded many of them the option for independent political action, a course which could work either way for la-

bor's future self-interest. For while fully a third of the AFL-CIO affiliates with more than one-half of the federation's membership backed McGovern (as did a majority of Meany's AFL-CIO Executive Council in individual actions as union presidents), a significant minority—including Meany's own union and many of the building and maritime trades—endorsed the President. The Orwellian saga of COPE literature attacking Nixon being called in was exceeded only by the use of an early-1972 AFL-CIO film entitled "Richard Nixon: Promises and Performance" by the McGovern people.

Ironically, if the economic argument worked in 1972, it may have been more to Nixon's advantage than McGovern's. For it was not all anti-Communist hard-hattism which brought the construction trades and the maritime unions into the Nixon fold—just as it was not ideology which brought them into the streets to support his invasion of Cambodia 18 months ago. It was the old Democratic prosperity thing, only with a Republican President who primed the federal construction pump and subsidized the maritime fleet. The Teamster duebill for Presidential support should come up during next year's over-the-road trucking negotiations.

Yet apart from the realities and the pragmatism of 1972, cultural shock

did account for much of the failure of traditional Democratic appeals to blue- and white-collar workers this year. McGovern campaign workers who sought to identify and dismiss what some called the "Mickey Mouse issues"—abortion, amnesty and acid—found that however removed they may be from the real concerns of America, to vast numbers of working people they ran deep. Add this to the fact that McGovern strategists decided to ignore the traditional ethnic base of the Democratic party, and the returns should not have been surprising.

Meany-watchers who have already predicted this year as his last political hurrah may be premature, for self-fulfilling prophet or not, he has called the shots correctly again to the consternation of those who felt he could not survive the cataclysm of the '70s. With or without Meany, labor can only expect a limbo for its part of the four more years that have resulted. For those backers of the President who still accept the adversary role of alleged "union power" are not about to fade away in Nixon's shadowy Commission for Industrial Peace, a resurrection the National Civic Federation projected for next year. New metaphors may be needed, but the next four years should test the resolve of the Nixon mandate when the blue-collar blues intensify.

FOUR MORE YEARS — IV

Future of the Party

EUGENE J. McCARTHY

AFTER THE 1964 defeat of the Republican candidate, Senator Goldwater, political pundits began to write of the end of the Republican party as an effective political instrument. Lyndon Johnson defeated Goldwater in that year by a margin of 16 million votes. Four years later, that margin had disappeared and the Repub-

lican candidate, Richard Nixon, won overall by a few hundred thousand votes. Four years later, the same Richard Nixon, running for reelection, has defeated the Democratic candidate, George McGovern, by a margin of 17 million votes.

One must ask whether the country has changed that much politically in

a period of eight years or whether the political parties have changed that much or whether Presidential elections depend principally on the personalities of the candidates. If one concludes that personality is the dominant factor, the party search between elections should be for the right man or woman. That search should not be

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left to chance or to the uncertainties of primaries and of other non-primary selection methods.

Certainly in the elections since the death of Franklin Roosevelt, with the exception of the elections of Dwight Eisenhower in 1952 and again in 1956, in which person if not personality was a key factor, personality does not appear to have been the principal force in determining the outcome. If it were, one would have to believe that John Kennedy's margin over Richard Nixon in 1960 would have been larger, and also believe that Nixon's margin of victory over George McGovern in 1972 would have been smaller. Undoubtedly the country has changed some in eight years, but not enough to explain the swing from 1964 to 1972. This leaves only the two major parties as possible causes of the changes.

What, if anything, has happened to the Republican party? Its President in power has turned away from a 20-year personal and party position of almost unrelieved support of Chiang Kai-shek and of opposition to any overtures towards mainland Communist China. Its President, who as Vice President shook his finger under the nose of Chairman Khrushchev in Moscow, now takes credit for relieving tensions between Russia and the United States. Its President, representing a party that never stopped denouncing Democratic Administrations for unbalanced budgets and for increasing the national debt now defends his Administration's deficits and says that he has become a Keynesian. After saying he was against wage-price controls, and that if he was given stand-by authority to impose such controls he would not do so, he did impose them.

Undoubtedly these switches did draw some votes to Mr. Nixon in 1972. But basically the Republican party remains what it has been for 20 years, a party drawing strength principally from the business and management class, including the captains of industry and finance as well as small independent businessmen of

the main streets of the small towns and of the neighborhood business areas of the large cities. It is supported by professional and semi-professional classes and salesmen and clerical workers who associate themselves with the hopes or fears of management. The Republican party for the most part today as in the past appeals to the uncommitted, the non-political, the anti-political. (In this latter appeal, it was being upstaged and outdrawn by George Wallace until he was wounded and then withdrew from the campaign.)

There was not enough that was new or different in the Republican appeal of 1972 to explain the margin of victory. The explanation must lie principally in the failure and, in many ways, in the inadequacy of the Democratic party. Senator McGovern must take much responsibility for things like the Eagleton snafu, the \$1,000 per person income distribution proposal, the drastic cuts proposed in defense spending. Each of these had some bearing on the outcome of the election. But the fact that these mistakes, if they can be called mistakes, could be made and were made is in large part attributable to the weaknesses and failures of the Democratic party itself.

During the Roosevelt era, the Democratic party welded together varied and sometimes conflicting elements into an effective majority, which was able not only to win elections, but also to conduct the affairs of government. The Democratic party was the party of the North and of the South. It had great strength among members of the Catholic church in the large cities and among members of Protestant, anti-Catholic churches in rural areas. Its numbers included the most ardent advocates of civil rights and members of the minorities most directly affected by discrimination, as well as the strongest opponents of governmental action in the field of civil rights. It was the party of organized labor, but also of farmers and of others whose economic interests often were in conflict. There was

strength in this diversity.

The Democratic party in power was able to move more freely on broad issues of national and international policy than has the Republican party. A minority satisfied that its special needs were being met was less likely to be critical of party action on other issues. In the period of the New Deal, members of Congress from Southern states, being principally interested in agricultural problems, gave support to such things as social security and national labor legislation. The general appeal was to minorities to work together so that the problems of each might in measure be met.

Democrats have been following the old formula with less and less success since the end of World War II, long after the economic, social and political realities had changed. Harry Truman put the old combination together—with the exception of the South, much of which defected on the civil rights issue in 1948—but he won by only a few hundred thousand votes.

The combination did not work in 1952 or in 1956. John Kennedy, making the same appeal plus emphasis on the need for stronger defense and an appeal to the so-called suburban professional and semi-professional independent vote, was barely able to defeat Richard Nixon. The 1964 election was one out of context. It was influenced by the assassination positively, and by the candidacy of Senator Goldwater negatively, who asked the electorate to vote against history, an appeal which never draws much support. Hubert Humphrey could not put the old combination together in 1968.

The Democratic party should have recognized, at least after 1960, that it could not safely rely on a conglomerate of minority interests as the way to victory. Some of these interests no longer had great political significance. In the case of others, ground had been lost to the Republicans. Whereas in earlier campaigns the Democrats could emphasize the minority issues and at the same time advocate policies

of broad national and international significance and win, it had become increasingly clear that the emphasis had to be placed on broad national and international policies, while policies and programs designed to meet special problems of minorities received supplemental attention.

The Democrats were called upon to make the choice of being simply a majority party in polls and registration figures and in control of the House and Senate as it has been with the exception of four years out of the last 40, or of moving to become a truly effective governing majority and Presidential party.

In 1968 they refused to make this choice. In the Chicago convention of that year, the party rejected the support of potentially one-third of its voters, those with broad interests in politics and political issues, and dug in with the old guard and old methods.

In 1972 those who had been rejected rallied behind Senator George McGovern and, with the help of new rules and procedures, controlled a convention and a campaign which

effectively alienated one-third or more of the traditional Democratic voters. Whereas those who controlled in 1972 were somewhat more sophisticated and less physical than those who ran the 1968 convention, their methods were essentially the same. When the rules of the party or of the convention were more useful than the law, the rules were applied, as in the rejection of the Daley delegation. When the law was advantageous, as in the issue of sharing the California delegation, the law was supported. And so the defeat of 1972 was not at all surprising.

The problem of putting the Democratic party back together is not as easy as was that of the Republicans after 1964. The Goldwater break was more in the nature of a personal, almost physical, aberration. It was not ideological or organic. The difference between the supporters of Goldwater and those who opposed him was essentially one of degree. Reconciliation after such a break is relatively easy. Neither did that break involve any significant challenge to the structure of the party.

In the case of the Democrats, the problem as it now stands involves historical claims to the party, traditional practices (remember Richard Daley telling the press, when asked whether his delegation would not be seated, that the Democratic convention would never do that to him). It involves structural and procedural changes never seriously at issue among the Republicans. It involves hard judgments about whether the emphasis should be on party strength and position or whether the party should seek somehow to personalize and to incarnate the conflicts and even the contradictions in the party.

The Democrats, if they are to justify their claims to being the party of progress, of innovation, and of challenge, will have to come up with more than age, sex, race, or other physiological standards for the selection of delegates and so reorder its operations, set its policies and programs, and pick its candidates as to give the voters of the country a clearer choice than it offered in 1968 and a more relevant one than it offered them in 1972.

FOUR MORE YEARS — V

Style and Substance

NANCY McWILLIAMS

PERUSING the inevitable election post-mortems, I have yet to find a disappointed McGovernite who seems genuinely to believe that his people, whatever their technical failings, at least fought the good fight. Granted, one hardly expects self-congratulations after a smashing defeat, but surely if the campaign had really spoken adequately to the great political issues of the day there would be more solace in the loss, and less of the endless, quarrelsome second-guessing that currently plagues the American Left.

Something obviously went very

wrong with our cherished opportunity to beckon America "home" to the democratic principles we had hoped McGovern would embody. Yet attempts to understand our failings seem always to bog down in retrospective concerns over strategy, not substance. To me, the most distressing feature of the current phase of post-election blues is the paucity of attention now being paid to fundamental questions of values and policies as contrasted to the amount of ink wasted on basically technical or stylistic issues (e.g., "What if he had only said ninety percent behind Eagleton?").

Jean Westwood, for instance, accounted for the candidate's failure by venturing that he had not succeeded in getting his "image" across. Now an image used to be considered a pose, if not an outright deceit, or at best an inevitable aspect of frequent public exposure. Somehow, ominously, the fact that a public person unavoidably projects an "image," rather than the full complexity of his or her person, has come to be considered not an unfortunate consequence of mass-media campaigning, but a central concern and a positive force.

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We are a society that can design endless elegant freeways to Los Angeles while completely losing sight of why anyone should want to go there. In politics we have become similarly lost in technique at the expense of goals: What the candidate actually says becomes secondary to how he says it; that he seems like a good person becomes more salient than whether he expostulates good programs; that he is sincere becomes of greater import than what it is that he is sincere about.

That substantive issues were ignored or underdeveloped in recent months is particularly unfortunate in light of the fact that the great advantage in running a losing candidate is the opportunity it affords to undertake serious political education. (Stevenson saw his chance in this area and had more than a little to do with the country's post-Eisenhower shift to the left.)

These observations have implications not just for future political ventures but for the present general state of the country: the reasons for McGovern's failure to capture the imagination and loyalties of more than the intellectual classes suggest a great deal about the unexamined issues that preoccupy mainstream Americans.

For example: one of the great hidden agendas in the election was work. That Nixon understood as much is evidenced by the lacing of his victory remarks with references to the traditional work ethic. That McGovern misperceived the nature of his fellow citizens' concern here is apparent in the way he structured the consideration of work-related issues.

Take tax reform. To believe that working-class Americans can be excited by changes in taxation presupposes that their major concern is how much money they pocket. That is, it seems to me, a liberal conceit. Working-class Americans want jobs, not tax breaks, and dignity in their work, not just remuneration. A whole unexplored area of American life where now there is pervasive anguish is the nature of work in the kind of society

we have become. Intellectuals—one of the few groups for whom work is not alien to the rest of life—talk with each other about this matter, but no one is translating it into public language.

In the recent campaign, issues of employment and the quality of work were lost amid the boundless self-righteousness of the McGovern forces. How a working-class citizen could avoid being offended by it is beyond me. And it is ironic that in their annoyance at being treated like Archie Bunkers, lower-middle-class whites gave the lie to the liberal stereotype by doing the one thing that liberals have always seen as the quintessence of enlightened voting: they split their tickets.

Related to work is another major unexamined and pressing question, the progressive fragmentation of communities into isolated, homogeneous, self-conscious but rootless collectivities. We are increasingly and inexorably segregated by age, economic status and role, and we are finding less and less communality in the old categories of locality, ethnicity and religion. Students talk only to students, intellectuals to other intellectuals, laborers to other laborers, the elderly to each other, if to anyone. Communities where there are organic connections between these groups are the exception to the ever-more-suburban rule. Where it was once true that a white-collar worker never saw a Negro except as the commuter train passed over Harlem, it is now probable that he never sees a blue-collar worker, except as caricatured in the media.

Our fragmentation and isolation appear even on the most personal level: Having replaced more extensive kinship arrangements, the nuclear family is rapidly disintegrating, with no clear alternatives in sight. An expanding movement of the aged (note the appearance of the Gray Panthers) attests to the bitterness of the abandoned old. The consequences of progressive social dissolution are staggering, especially if the matter is not

being discussed in everyday language.

Although the concepts of alienation from work and from one another in modern society are old ideas to many of us, we have yet to make them meaningful to the people who suffer their effects most keenly. And it is harder to do so now that the public forum provided by a national election is gone. Still, it seems to me that to confront these massive social dilemmas explicitly, and with practical policies, continues to be the major challenge to the American Left. Until we do so we will always be susceptible to sidetracking.

One place where the above issues appear in the guise of other concerns is with respect to race. Anti-black feeling in the United States is inextricably associated with attitudes toward work and toward community. (Those people don't work. They don't keep up their homes. They cause neighborhoods to deteriorate.) Working-class people are unlikely to stop scapegoating blacks unless they can see new ways of regarding their own problems, and new ways of solving them, and unless they feel that the providers of new perspectives have a genuine empathy toward their feelings of frustration and rage at a society that has given them few rewards and little dignity.

Let me return here to a consideration of the present confusions of style and substance, means and ends. Our public treatment of race questions certainly reflects such a mix-up.

Busing is a means toward a goal: integration. Whether it is the best means remains to be seen. But more important, whether the goal is a primary aim or a derivative one ought to receive more public consideration. Militant blacks as well as intransigent whites seem to agree that community control of education is a greater good than integration *per se*. It could be that they are right, that the idea of the value of neighborhood schools might stand on its own merits, as more than a rationalization for racist attitudes. If we could stop thinking of busing as a *sine qua non* of racial

remedies, we would be free to devise other ways to rectify educational injustices done to blacks. We might also be free to ask how to improve education for other disadvantaged groups, rural whites in particular, for whom busing has never even been an option.

To take a different case where the same confusion appears: The whole subject of sex-role reorganization has been denied a serious hearing on account of our preference for procedural solutions to substantive problems. The women's movement has raised some profound questions about the appropriate structure and nature of human relationships, all of which have lately been obscured by formal attention to the number of female delegates and the presence or absence of an abortion plank. In the next years we will have to come to terms in more depth with the implications of contemporary feminist critiques.

The amnesty issue is another case in point. To grant or not to grant amnesty to draft evaders states the question in a regrettably limited way, again making a derivative issue look

like a primary one. Dwelling on amnesty, pro or con, overshadows the prior question of the nature of political obligation, of what government can and should ask of its citizens.

This could have been the year to propose a system of universal service, whereby each person, male or female, healthy or frail, preacher or plumber, owes a stint in some service capacity. We could fill the hospitals, prisons, schools, and day-care centers as well as the military under a new definition of the kind of service each citizen owes the polity. This continues to be an option, and a consideration of it might have the welcome effect of enriching public discourse.

These are a few examples of areas where our public questions have seemed entirely to miss the mark of the underlying social problems. Naturally, in a political campaign one cannot always rise to the loftiest level of moral discourse or penetrate to the subtlest area of sociological analysis. The issues are to a great extent preformulated, and the candidates asked simply where they stand on each.

Perhaps it is asking too much to expect the kind of moral leadership that shuffles the questions into new categories of public consideration, sorts out techniques from ideals, and gives voice to the common substantive concerns behind the manifestly diverse complaints of countless disaffected groups.

Still, it is hardly a trivial matter that the majority party could not entreat America to "come home" with any more success than we have recently seen. While we are enduring the next four years, we might consider how the subsequent campaign can move from tactics to substance, and from catchily symbolic slogans to a shared public vision. Finally, we might remember that any candidate is largely bound by the categories in which his supporters think. We on the left have been too willing to settle for a We-hate-war-and-poverty-and-racism-unlike-those-other-guys mentality, and unless we show more imagination and less contempt, we will once more watch America go anywhere but "home."

FOUR MORE YEARS — VI

The Dream Deferred

HERBERT MITGANG

DURING Richard M. Nixon's first term in office, I would not have cared to be a Southeast Asian either on the receiving end or being protected by his mighty engines of war. I might have been bombed, napalmed or made homeless.

During Richard M. Nixon's second term in office, I would not care to be either black or poor while waiting for a domestic Henry Kissinger to show up and bring *me* some good deals. I might be jobless, homeless, hungry and ignored.

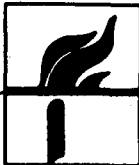
The course of the next four years cannot be charted with certainty under President Nixon. We know less

about him as a policymaker now than we did when he first went into the White House. As a lame-duck President, unable to control Congress and even warring elements in his own party looking toward 1976 and the Republican convention, his professed aims may not be legislated or administered. A man watching his place in history may not be interested in the details of federal funds for slum clearance. History, or some glamorous signing of an East-West pact on interplanetary fellowship, doesn't cost anything.

We thought the old Nixon to be fairly predictable. In some respects

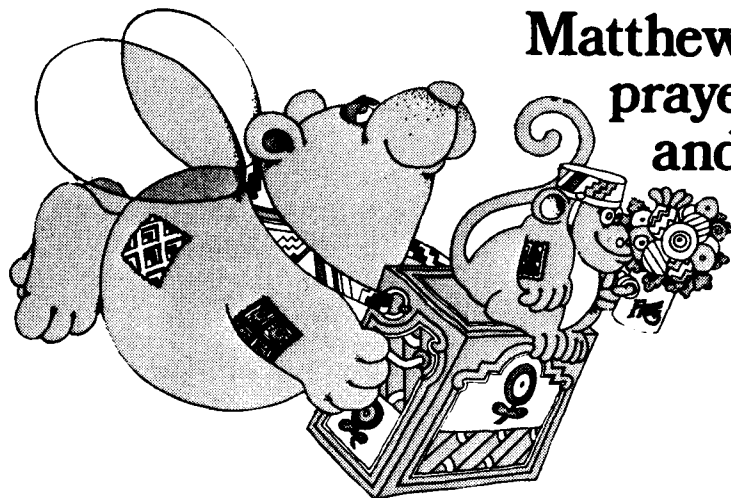
he played the game true to form in his first term. Nominating mediocrities for the United States Supreme Court in order to score political brownie points with Southern power brokers and bigots was the calculating act of someone we knew. We may have been a little shellshocked, as many Senators were, but not too surprised. And then came the 360-degree turns. By abandoning Formosa and courting China, the President showed that he was willing to grandstand even if it meant reversing twenty years of his own attitudes and what used to be referred to as "treason," for Democrats. By imposing

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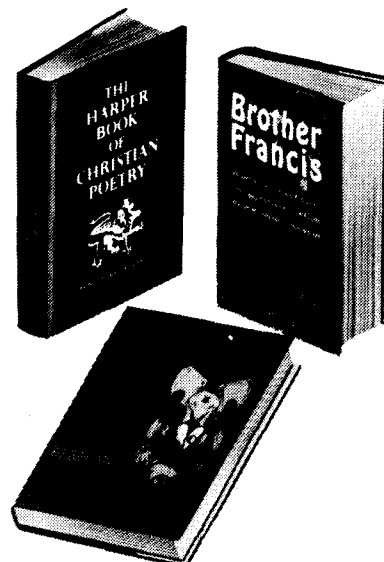
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wage and price controls, he broke with the most sacred laissez-faire traditions of conservative Republicanism. This policymaker began to waffle and dissemble in the White House, unpredictably.

Probably more of the same on the hard issues, at home and abroad, can be expected after the next Inaugura-

tion Day. He is not an idealist; but is he truly a pragmatist? The record on the Vietnam war is abysmally horrible. Handed a peace table by President Johnson, President Nixon bombed it in Paris. The main sums of money available to his Administration were thrown out of the bomb bays of B-52's and the muzzles of warships for four years. At almost any time after January 20, 1969, President Nixon could have achieved as good withdrawal terms as were announced before Election Day, 1972—and without the death and destruction that stemmed from the Hiroshima-a-week in explosives unloosed by Commander-in-Chief Nixon. The conduct of the Vietnam war cannot be regarded as the work of a pragmatist, and history or diplomacy cannot vindicate the Nixon Administration.

The non-campaign waged by the President, surrounded by his communications *apparat* and not challenged or exposed by intimidated broadcasters, was perfectly clear on only one subject: busing. This, of course, was a code word that meant different things to the great majority of middle-class white voters: don't let "them" into your neighborhood, schools, jobs, unions or churches because if you do you'll get mugging, permissive courts, socializing and higher taxes. The word busing said it all. In the next four years, if the job picture does not brighten and inflation and taxes continue to go up unreasonably, the Nixon Administration can be expected to blame the victims for the plight of the majority, to find new code words and old scapegoats. No matter how it is said, sadly the Nixon Administration is anti-black in tone and the message came through most clearly to the black voters in the District of Columbia. Turning against the President in the nation's capital, they did not say with their ballots, as their neighbor at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue said in his victory speech, "God Bless America." Their views forebode the possibility of discord in Washington and in some of the troubled and neglected inner-cities.

The President himself has indicated that his main thrust will be in the field of foreign affairs, where there are public relations triumphs, rather than in domestic affairs, where there are only headaches. While he is off in the clouds over Peking or Moscow, the Lindsays and the other mayors and county executives will be trying to get a piece of the revenue-sharing and direct aid to branches of the city governments. If, as promised, there will be an effort to decentralize the federal government, will the revenues derived from federal taxes find their way down to the local level? How much of it will go through the Statehouses where rural interests often shortchange the cities? Educational and library aid, hospital assistance and health care, law enforcement and legal aid are among the everyday concerns of people in towns and cities, small and large—and these were the areas directly helped by the federal government through such agencies as Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. Decentralization could mean emasculation.

The President can be expected to keep these aims in the forefront in the next four years: Promoting the growth of the economy (but not nec-



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essarily caring about the rate of employment); curbing higher federal taxes (but thereby shifting the burden of services to states and cities and townships—and the blame for higher local taxes); halting the rise in inflation (but faced with the dilemma of ceiling zeros on prices and wages, maintaining a delicate balance of guidelines that, inevitably, for a corporate-minded Administration, will tip the scales in favor of big business); cutting out the fat, so-called, in the federal agencies reaching most directly into the lives of the people (who, in a lame-duck time, no longer have to be regarded as an electorate with special interests).

The President's domestic Kissinger in the absence of any other is John D. Ehrlichman, who is basically a politician rather than a theoretician. There is no reason to doubt that he is more Nixon's Nixon, and in laying down the law for federal agencies and to federal leaders there will be an additional political equation. He probably knows to the nearest hundred thousand who the big givers are to the Committee to Re-Elect the President, which of their corporations are or were involved in antitrust cases, and the names of their Mexican dollar-launders. He told the *Wall Street Journal* that there are "a lot of parasites sucking the fiscal blood." He did not mean I.T.&T. at all but rather such agencies as the O.E.O., H.E.W., National Institute of Mental Health, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. "There seems to be a folk tradition around this town that it's somehow indecent to cut any social program. I don't think the second Administration will be a believer in that folk tale."

The fiscal blood-suckers would include Indians, doctors doing research, lawyers for the poor and similar Administration enemies. They would not include the Defense Department, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and other things that go boom in the night. Congress can expect many struggles and vetoes on social programs—not to mention the

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Commonweal: 209

touchiest one of all, a humane system of welfare. The gullible commentators in Washington who swallowed the story that Nixon was a Keynesian economist in disguise (a similar group to those who faithfully noted that Nixon was Wilsonian in ideals!) may be in for some 360-degree turns of their own as they watch the Demo-

cratic Congress collide with the lame-duck President. The momentum of Senator McGovern's campaign against defense spending will undoubtedly continue; he will return to Congress a defeated Presidential candidate but a more powerful Senator and the issues he raised will find more legislative allies.

Senator McGovern provided a perception of the things that are unsound in the United States and suggested a sense of priorities giving precedence to human needs. The Administration in the next four years (as in its first four) will not concern itself with civil rights and individual rights. It is inconceivable for President Nixon to turn a double hand-spring and press for better enforcement of the Civil Rights Act or to suggest that Senator Sam Ervin's Constitutional Rights Subcommittee should push legislation to protect the right of privacy, safeguard people against computers as well as wiretappers, and broaden newsmen's privilege under the First Amendment.

One harbinger of the Administration's attitude toward criticism and freedom of information will be in the area of broadcasting, the one "art" form that requires federal licensing by allocation of space on the airwaves. There is now an Office of Telecommunications Policy in the White House which so far has played a quasi-political role. It has been keeper in charge of electronic chilling effects upon the networks. The network news departments delivered the usual sound and fury on election night but lacked the courage, with an occasional exception, to expose the corruption and lawbreaking of Watergate and other scandals leading into the White House. Another agency to watch will be the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, now headed by a Nixon appointee who doesn't much believe in airing controversial news issues. If the educational stations shut up, playing merely fine B.B.C. dramas, or dare to defy Administration-felt pressures, they will tell much about the strength of the Nixon sec-

ond term as a force against the free range of libertarian ideas.

"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." This line from Leviticus inscribed on the Liberty Bell meant that a dream could no longer be deferred in the new United States. As the Nixon Administration heads toward a new term that concludes with the bicentennial of the Republic, I wonder if this line will be considered subversive—or, to use a Nixon-Agnew code word, "permissive." Meantime, actual political prisoners like the Rev. Philip Berrigan remain in jail without parole, as vengeance, and unknown tens of millions of Americans live in the benignly neglected open prisons of race and poverty. Despite Mr. Nixon, they will still find spokesmen against injustices in the intertwined areas of human liberties and rights.



ARNOLD KENSETH

BIBLE READING

Now I have come, my Lord,
In the five o'clock dark.
The house hums in its sleep
And the breath of night cries
Towards the day, while cars,
Milkmen, workmen swoosh down the
roads.
Deep, deep, deep in green dreams
Are the trees and all children.
Only myself, waking out of fears,
Wearied by terrible turning and toss,
Cannot rest or unburden.

So I sit here reading You:
How you came in the dark, how miracle
Is Love giving hands to the sick,
How sparrows falling out of eaves
Are counted into grace, how the quick
And the grey dead, all of us,
Falling out of sleep or graves,
Are like dry sparrows tumbling down
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Into your net; and then we are let go
Into such riding such winds, we cannot
guess.

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BOOKS

Reflections on being black in America

Down to Now: Reflections on the Southern Civil Rights Movement

PAT WATTERS

Pantheon, \$8.45

The Quality of Hurt

CHESTER HIMES

Doubleday, \$7.95

Down the Line

BAYARD RUSTIN

Quadrangle, \$10

DAN LACY

Pat Watters is among one of the little band of Southern whites who have devoted most of their adult lives to civil rights. His childhood was spent in the rural small town black-belt areas of South Carolina and Georgia. As a reporter for the *Atlanta Journal*, he covered racial demonstrations throughout much of the South in the 1950's and early 1960's. Since 1963 he has been Director of Public Information for the Southern Regional Council. Few have had a comparable opportunity to live intimately with the Southern civil rights movement and its participants both black and white.

His present book is not, except incidentally, a history of the civil rights movement. This is no chronological record of meetings and demonstrations, of parades and boycotts, of murders and jailings, of laws and judicial decisions. The author has accurately subtitled his book "reflections" on the Southern civil rights movement. To have lived through it was clearly one of the deeply emotional experiences of his life. In this, the most recent of his three books on race problems, he is trying to capture for his readers—and, one feels, to recapture for himself—what that movement was really like.

The central question he puts to himself is how and why the movement failed. For fail it did, in his view. Blacks may freely vote almost everywhere in the South. Their leaders hold public office throughout the region and their votes wield an increasingly important

political influence, under which the whole structure of Southern politics has changed. Almost everywhere in the region blacks as a matter of course patronize whatever restaurants and hotels they choose. Black athletes star on the basketball and football teams of South-

Steve Allen invites you to an old-fashioned family brawl.



Relatives and friends are coming from all over to Grandma Scanlan's funeral. To renew acquaintances and bitter hatreds. To retell old jokes and reopen old wounds. And, in the case of 8-year-old David Considine, to be reunited — briefly and sadly — with his mother. It's an Irish wake in the Chicago of the 1930's, recreated from the depths of Steve Allen's own memory — and it will linger long in yours.

THE WAKE

a novel by STEVE ALLEN

DOUBLEDAY

Commonweal: 211

ern colleges, and schools are more fully, and on the whole more peacefully integrated than anywhere else in the country. Sullen hatreds may remain only suppressed, not cured; but the continual brutal violence with which Southern whites had for generations met black demands for justice has been markedly lessened since its bullet tore

through the body of Dr. King at Memphis. When one compares 1972 with 1952, the success of the movement, however yet incomplete, seems great beyond any hope of that earlier generation.

Watters finds its failure not in the objective realm of laws and courts and legal rights, but in the death of love. Like many Southern whites, I suspect he had learned love from blacks, from the gentleness and warmth of black women who helped mother them, from the wisdom and kindness of black men, from the joy of black playmates. One of the traumas of Southern white adolescents has always been to be forced to deny that love and mask it as contempt, lest they be thought "nigger-lovers" and unworthy of white manhood.

In the stifling churches of Albany and Montgomery in the early days of the movement when white boys and girls sang together, when hypnotic preachers in moving terms besought their black congregations to redeem their white brothers with love, there was a time when men like Watters were free to love and be loved by blacks. It was a moment of joyous release, of becoming whole, and from it flowed a vision of a region and a nation similarly made whole by love.

And that, of course, did not happen. Blacks understandably rejected whites from positions of control in the movement, and black groups strove among themselves for power. Anger and suspicion displaced love, especially after Dr. King's murder. Whites were forced to look elsewhere for forgiveness and acceptance and for their personal healing.

The idealism of no revolution survives its victory, even its partial victory. A participant looking back to the American or French or Russian Revolution might mourn the passing of the brotherhood and selfless patriotism of those days; and one who marched and sang at Albany may hunger for those brief moments of hands clasped to the sound of "We Shall Overcome." But though the beauty may have been ground away in the bitter years, solid

achievement remains. In a less personal and inward account, Watters would no doubt have dealt in fuller measure with achievement. But here, in a beautiful and moving book, he has given a sensitive percipient rendering of what the civil rights movement meant, inwardly, to the liberal Southern whites who joined it.

Two other very different personal accounts are given in Chester Himes' *The Quality of Hurt* and Bayard Rustin's *Down the Line*. Himes records the turbulence and bitterness of a life in which his rejection of the role assigned him as a black in American life drove him first to prison and ultimately to Europe. Bayard Rustin's collected essays and articles, written over more than three decades, record the wisdom and maturity of a man who has been able to harness both love and anger with a steady and clear-eyed realism. Rustin may well emerge as the most creative and constructive of the black leaders of our generation. These essays, often written in haste and to deal with immediate problems, still manage to capture the essential qualities of a great man.

Human Life, Some Moral Issues

JOHN F. DEDEK

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Five topics are addressed in this competent presentation, abortion, euthanasia, war, Roman Catholic moral theory, and the new biological developments (cloning in humans, genetic surgery, *in vitro* fecundation, gestation in a surrogate mother, etc.). In handling these topics Dedek renders a double service. First, he brings together from scattered sources the reflection of other ethicists. Secondly, he takes a personal stand on each of the issues treated. The book is handy on both scores.

Take the two chapters on abortion, for example. The treatment is not a mere survey of current polemics on

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the subject. Having searched the Scriptures in vain for a clear condemnation of abortion as we know it, he briefly presents the positions of Christian writers in the early and middle ages, drawing the necessary distinctions between formed and unformed fetus. He finds, correctly, abortion to be condemned as a general rule. Next he examines the complicated casuistry of moral theologians and papal statements in the modern age. In this period more toleration of embryotomy for the good of the mother prevailed than is generally realized. Toward the close of the last century the anti-abortion position begins to harden under the influence of the Holy Office and the Popes. Earlier opinions allowing abortion in instances of rape or incest are rejected by absolute condemnation. The author's presentation is that of theological interpretation of the historical data, not just a listing of the data itself.

Dedek concludes his survey with the current Catholic view which would allow direct abortion in certain circumstances and the official Catholic position which would not. The latter, he finds, is based on two premises, that direct abortion is intrinsically evil and that probabilism may not be applied to the sacrifice of human life. "... both of these premises are increasingly difficult to sustain," he correctly concludes from the evidence examined. Thereupon he plunges into the rough waters of casuistry, the kinds of danger to maternal or fetal integrity which justify abortion. Others will remain safely on the shore. They may do so and still lay claim to the title of moralist, provided they have examined the two premises above, as Dedek has

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● REVIEWERS

DAN LACY is Senior Vice-President at McGraw-Hill. He served for a number of years as a member of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union and for three years as vice-chairman of the Board.

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"BE YE RECONCILED..."



James Y. Holloway & Will D. Campbell,
Editors

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Essays of Southern Churchmen

"Our failure," editors Campbell and Holloway believe, "is that we have sought to be relevant to political and social processes when we should have been *challenging* these very processes by 'the politics of God.'" And their hope: as St. Paul puts it, "When anyone is united to Christ, there is a new world; the old order has gone and a new order has already begun."

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done. Still others will with shrill complaint accuse the author of favoring abortion-on-demand. To do so is to confuse the moral with the socio-legal question, which Dedek does not go into.

On the ethics of war he studies in detail the work of Paul Ramsey, the most exhaustive current thinker on the question, presents the recent statements of Popes and the Council, very apposite material, and takes a stand in favor of selective conscientious objection. The

chapter would be improved by inclusion of other respectable work, for example that of William V. O'Brien and John C. Murray.

The biblical brief for peace is somewhat understated, as I see it. He rightly recognizes that the Bible does not rule out absolutely drawing the sword from its sheath. The totality of its message, however, does not add up to: "Neither the Old or New Testament teaches us anything about the morality of war," an impression which he sub-

sequently corrects when he calls our vocation to peace a moral imperative.

We moralists need to go beyond biblical exegesis, which leaves us suspended between the toleration of war as necessary evil and our vocation as makers of peace. We must reach the level of biblical theology which reconciles contrary themes and arrives at true theological synthesis. Dedek does so synthesize with his conclusion regarding being Christian and being an absolute pacifist. (The two are not co-extensive.) Hopefully his future writing will move in the direction of forging the instruments of peace on the practical level and a theology of non-violence on the theoretical plane.

If you want a brief account of where moral theology is at present, both in basic theory and in four other key areas, *Human Life* is a good place to look. It serves the function of a textbook; however, I hesitate to call it that. We don't have textbooks in the old sense at hand. We can't have. Moral re-assessment moves at too rapid a pace, the development is too profound and on too broad a scale for any one book to capture it on paper. John Dedek does us a service in reporting this development and in adding his own significant momentum to the forward motion.

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IN BRIEF

THE WESTERN COAST by Paula Fox, Harcourt Brace, \$7.95. Substitute Hollywood and the banalities of late thirties Communism for Wessex and the evils of industrialism in Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* and you will have some idea of Paula Fox's third novel: a young, much-abused girl searches for love and identity amid social and intellectual chaos. Since *Tess* is one of the few books on the shelf of Annie Gianfala, the heroine of *The Western Coast*, I find the comparison inevitable, though Annie suffers from it. We know *Tess*, but I don't think we ever really know Annie; her extreme passivity before the party line, liquor, and men

emerges from no real self. Yet the resistance she finally offers to those around her seems more instinctive than a result of essential growth, and if that is so, where were her instincts earlier? The novel's incidents are interesting enough for about a third of the way, but, I thought, tedious thereafter.

MARK TAYLOR

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 195)

upon living bodies are apt to be fatal" ought to receive a Life Sciences Institute's prize for newspeak semantics. The article, in concentrating on McGovern's image and strategy and referring only in passing to the Nixon money and Wallace vote, resembles a coroner's report meticulously diagnosing the victim's broken leg and then adding, almost as an afterthought, that the subject was strangled and shot. If Nixon wins by a landslide it will tell us more about the gullibility and apathy of the American electorate than about the image and strategy of the loser—and no amount of rationalization can bury that corpus delicti. It will be around to fester the body politic in this country long after the "four more years." A fact the Kennedy hopefuls prefer not to factor into their optimistic projections for '76.

In assessing the reasons for a McGovern loss should we not consider the possibility that his image was too well defined and his strategy too pointed in its honest questioning of what has been happening to the political priorities in the nation? After all, the damage to his image should have been minimal from the Eagleton affair and the thousand dollar give-away when compared to the ITT and Wheat Sale and Watergate

scandals. If anything, should not the faith of McGovern in the American electorate be questioned, rather than his image? Was not a McGovern victory too dependent upon a perhaps naive trust in the willingness of that electorate to reassert the imperatives of decency and morality in the political sphere of the country? Did he not, perhaps, underestimate the moral disintegration of the country torn by racial prejudice, exploited by big business, bled by a tragic and senseless war?

Was Mr. Steinfels aware of the implications in his statement that "perhaps it is only comforting that we will not know the naked truth about these matters"? Comforting for whom? For the politicians dependent on the reinforcement of class and racial bias for their support? For the hyper-affluent one percent or less of the population in America who owns upwards of fifty percent or more of the productive wealth and carries only fourteen percent of the tax burden? For the intellectuals anxious not to bite the hands that payroll their value-free research? For an electorate so numbed that it did not care to consider its own responsibility for a corrupt and corrupting government?

A society in decline can usually be expected to dig its own grave with typically short-sighted consistency. Commentators on the social scene of Mr. Steinfels' stature are surely more perceptive than the references to McGovern's image and strategy in the article would lead one to believe. Or are we left to wade through the rhetoric of Norman Mailer's *St. George and the Godfather* to glean the insights into what kind of "Authority and Decisiveness" a vote for Nixon implies, and how all the talk of a political "Center" in America might just be a euphemism for a massive mediocrity?

Mr. Steinfels awaits from McGovern

"a candid statement on what went wrong and why." The fact that such a statement will not contain the usual call to the country to unify behind Mr. Nixon indicates that far more is wrong than Mr. Steinfels has conceded in his autopsy.

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